

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8110

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

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AMEMBASSY LIMA

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

USUN NEW YORK 897

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 BELGRADE 6146

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, UNGA, OAU, PE, CU, ED, IN, CE, SF, IS, FR,

SA, RO, PO, YO

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: COLOMBO NAC AND ITS AFTERMATH

1. SUMMARY: TWO HOUR CONVERSATION BETWEEN AMBASSADOR AND
FSFA ASSIST SECTY (MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS) KOMATINA SEPT 10
(EXCERPTS OF WHICH DEALING WITH KOREA, DISARMAMENT AND
YUGOSLAV POSITION ON C-24 CONSIDERATION OF PUERTO RICO
REPORTED SEPTELS) PRODUCED, INTER ALIA, FOLLOWING OBSERV-
ATIONS BY KOMATINA. COLOMBO NAC EVIDENCED BOTH NAM UNITY
AND MOVEMENT'S "VULNERABILITY ON SOME POINTS", E.G.,
"INTERNAL" DISPUTES, REGIONALISM AND EFFORTS TO DIVERT
MOVEMENT FROM ITS NON-ALIGNED COURSE. NAM "MUST GIVE
PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC MATTERS AS A POLITICAL ISSUE."
CONFERENCE SAW CHANGES IN RELATIVE STRENGTHS AND INTERESTS OF
NAM LEADERS (SPECIFICALLY COMMENTED UPON WERE PERU, EGYPT,
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INDIA, SRI LANKA AND CUBA) AND HEIGHTENED ACTIVITY ON THE

PART OF THE "MODERATES." ""PERMANENCY" OF MEMBERSHIP IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE WAS VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED AS WERE ANY ATTEMPTS TO "INSTITUTIONALIZE" THE MOVEMENT OR "AUTOMATIZE" CONVENING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE. WHILE NAM HAS BEEN AVERSE TO DEALING WITH DISPUTES BETWEEN MEMBER NATIONS, GOY IS CURRENTLY "LOOKING AT" THIS SUBJECT AND COORDINATING COMMITTEE MAY SOON BEGIN TO ADDRESS SUCH PROBLEMS. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF US POLICY TOWARD THE NON-ALIGNED IS EVIDENT IN THE LARGE NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS ENTERED IN OPPOSITION TO KOREAN RESOLUTION AND TO POLITICAL DECLARATION LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO. ISRAELI EXCLUDING FROM UN WAS NOT MAJOR CONSIDERATION AT COLOMBO, THOUGH OPPOSITION TO REAFFIRMING "ZIONISM IS RACISM" WAS ALMOST NON-EXISTENT OWING TO PERCEIVED WARMING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA. A TRI-CONTINENTAL SUMMIT WILL "NEVER TAKE PLACE". END SUMMARY.

2. NAM IN THE WAKE OF COLOMBO. AMBASSADOR BEGAN BY ASKING KOMATINA FOR HIS "PHILOSOPHICAL ASSESSMENT OF "WHITHER THE NON-ALIGNED" AFTER COLOMBO. KOMATINA RESPONDED AT GREAT LENGTH, STATING, INTER ALIA, NAM "IS ADAPTING ITSELF TO A CHANGING WORLD AND CHANGING PHILOSOPHIES". HE DESCRIBED '61 BELGRADE NAC AS HAVING STOOD CLEARLY IN OPPOSITION TO THE EXISTENCE AND ENLARGEMENT OF BLOCS AND THE IMPOSITION ON AN EVER BROADER AREA OF THE WORLD "OF COLD WAR VALUES, OF THE IDEOLOGIES OF STALIN AND DULLES". BELGRADE WAS ESSENTIALLY AN "ANTI-POLITICS" CONFERENCE. IN CONTRAST, HE SAID, THERE WERE EVIDENCED AT COLOMBO TO A GREATER EXTENT THAN EVER BEFORE CERTAIN TRAITS WHICH HAVE INCREASINGLY CHARACTERIZED THE MOVEMENT IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE BELGRADE SUMMIT, NAMELY, THE "WILL" OF THE NON-ALIGNED TO PARTICIPATE IN RESOLVING WORLD PROBLEMS AND THEIR POSITIVE EMPHASIS OF THE NEED FOR EQUALITY AMONG NATIONS. THE NON-ALIGNED, HE CLAIMED, HAVE BEEN PASSING "FROM THE SPHERE OF IDEAS TO THE SPHERE OF CONCRETE SOLUTIONS."

3. KOMATINA POINTED TO THE INTRODUCTORY PORTION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECLARATIONS AS "THE HIGHEST FORMULATION OF NON-ALIGNED DOCTRINE AS A FACTOR IN WORLD

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POLITICS" AND LISTED THE FOLLOWING AS PARTICULARLY NOTE-WORTHY ASPECTS OF COLOMBO NAC: (1) "WE WERE UNDER PRESSURE TO CHANGE THE DIRECTION OF ACTION OF THE NON-ALIGNED...AND THERE WAS SOME REACTION AGAINST THIS". (HE LATER NOTED THAT EFFORTS TO STEER THE MOVEMENT IN A "LEFTIST" DIRECTION, TOWARD "CUBANIZATION", HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE MAJORITY, AS HAD ATTEMPTS TO ABSOLVE THE SOVIETS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PLIGHT OF THE DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES.) (2) "WE TOOK A BIG STEP IN ELABORATING SOME NEW AVENUES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES." WHETHER ANYTHING WILL COME OF THEM, WE DON'T KNOW, BUT THERE WERE "ITEMS TEN YEARS AGO" THE U.S. AND OTHERS PREFERRED NOT TO DISCUSS WHICH ARE TODAY A REALITY, E.G., DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; (3) "WE REJECTED ARTIFICIAL FORMULAS" (FOR ASSISTING LDCS). A DIALOGUE WAS BEGUN ON POSSIBLE ACTIONS TO ASSIST OURSELVES, E.G., THIRD WORLD COMMERCIAL BANK PROPOSAL; (4) WE "REJECTED" THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "AN INSTITUTIONAL APPARATUS". WHILE WE TOOK STEPS TO BETTER COORDINATE OUR ACTIONS AND INSURE CONTINUITY, WE AVOIDED "THE TRAP" OF CREATING PERMANENT ORGANS; (5) WE INCLUDED IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NAC "CERTAIN COUNTRIES WHICH ARE MEMBERS OF POLITICAL-MILITARY PACTS". (HE MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY ROMANIA AND PORTUGAL AND NOTED THAT THERE INCLUDING HAD BEEN OPPOSED "MAINLY" BY INDIA, CUBA, IRAQ, LIBYA AND CYPRUS.) HE STATED THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME GUEST INVITEES WERE PERMITTED TO TAKE PART IN THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEES AND HAD DONE SO, CALLING SRI LANKA "HELPFUL" IN THIS REGARD.

4. CONTINUING HIS GENERAL APPRAISAL OF NAM'S CURRENT STATUS, KOMATINA RECALLED MAO'S DICTUM OF THE DIFFICULTY OF REMAINING A REVOLUTIONARY AFTER ATTAINING A POSITION OF STRENGTH AND NOTED THAT IN BROADENING ITS BASE, AND CONSEQUENTLY ITS STRENGTH, THE MOVEMENT HAD FOUND FEWER ISSUES ON WHICH IT COULD ADOPT A UNIFIED (AND IMPLICITLY "PROGRESSIVE") POSITION. WHILE THE UNITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED AT COLOMBO HAD BEEN GRATIFYING, HE COMMENTED, THE MOVEMENT HAD NEVERTHELESS SHOWN ITSELF "VULNERABLE" ON CERTAIN POINTS. AMONG THE LATTER HE INCLUDED REGIONALISM, A FACTOR OF GROWING IMPORTANCE IN THE MOVEMENT AND ONE WHICH AT DIFFERENT TIMES MAY MANIFEST ITSELF IN

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A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE MANNER. HE STATED, FOR INSTANCE, THAT WHILE THE (MID/EAST/NORTH AF.) ISLAMIC COUNTRIES HAD PARTICIPATED VIGOROUSLY IN THE CONFERENCE, THEY HAD, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF LIBYA, LARGELY ABSTAINED FROM FORCING THEIR VIEWS ON ISSUES WHERE THEY DIFFERED FROM THE MAJORITY. HE ALSO POINTED TO THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ASEAN COUNTRIES AND THE COUNTRIES OF INDO-CHINA OVER THE SOUTH EAST ASIA ZONE OF PEACE PROPOSAL AS AN EXAMPLE OF "REGIONALISM" AT THE CONFERENCE. IN ADDITION TO REGIONALISM, KOMATINA LISTED (OPEN) CONFLICTS BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES AND EFFORTS "TO DEVALUE THE DOCTRINE OF NON-ALIGNMENT" AS OTHER POINTS ON WHICH NAM WAS "VULNERABLE".

5. TURNING TO WHAT UNITES NAM, KOMATINA NOTED THAT THE MOVEMENT LACKS ANY OF THE OBVIOUS POLITICAL, CULTURAL,

GEOGRAPHIC OR OTHER BONDS WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED
"EMPIRES, MILITARY ALLIANCES" OR OTHER GROUPINGS OF THE
PAST (OR PRESENT). WHAT THE NON-ALIGNED DO SHARE, HE
SAID, IS THE KNOWLEDGE THEY REMAIN "ON THE MARGIN OF THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 BELGRADE 6146

EXISTING WORLD ORDER, PARTICULARLY IN TERMS OF WEALTH
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE AMBASSADOR INTERJECTED
THAT CERTAIN OF THE OPEC NONALIGNED ARE, BY VIRTUE OF
THEIR WEALTH, IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
SYSTEM. KOMATINA SAID HE WOULD CHARACTERIZE THE LATTER
AS HAVING PASSED FROM THE "PERIPHERY TO A SUB-SYSTEM" OF
THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, A POSITION FROM WHICH THEY
ADMITTEDLY COULD PARTICIPATE ON A BASIS OF GREATER
EQUALITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. (NOTE: KOMATINA SINGLED OUT
SAUDI ARABIA AS EXPECIALLY EXEMPLIFYING THE ESSENCE OF
CARTER'S REPORTED QUIP THAT MONEY HAS BEEN "TAKEN FROM
THE (POOR) PEOPLE OF RICH COUNTRIES AND GIVEN TO THE RICH
PEOPLE IN POOR COUNTRIES.") HE ADDED THAT THE NONALIGNED

ALSO SHARE AN "AWARENESS " THAT THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM CANNOT PROMOTE THEIR ASCENSION TO FULL MEMBERSHIP (IN THAT SYSTEM). HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE IS A LIMIT TO THE DEGREE OF UNITY TO WHICH THE NONALIGNED CAN ASPIRE
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IN ARGUING THAT "WE (NAM) MUST BE RID OF ANY ILLUSION THAT WE COULD, EVEN IF WE WANTED TO, CREATE A BLOC". HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE ARE FORCES WITHIN THE MOVEMENT WHICH DESIRE THE CREATION OF A BLOC, "A NEW UNITED NATIONS" OR THE LIKE. "WE MUST GET FREE OF THIS, BUT ALSO MUST BE FREE OF THE NOTION THAT WE CANNOT BE EFFECTIVE , THAT WE MUST FUNCTION AS A SORT OF TRADE UNION", ASSERTING ONLY MARGINAL INFLUENCE ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR ECONOMIC CONDITION. WE MUST GIVE PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC MATTERS AS A POLITICAL ISSUE". COMMENT: THIS IS BUT ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF FACT THAT YUGOSLAVS VIEW SPECIFIC ISSUES WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF THE GOAL OF ENHANCING THEIR POLITICAL POWER.

6. CHANGES IN RELATIVE STRENGTHS OF NAM LEADERS. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR'S QUERY, KOMATINA OFFERED COMMENTS ON FOLLOWING COUNTRIES:

PERU: TO MANY OBSERVERS, HE SAID, PERU SEEMED TO ADOPT A LOWER PROFILE AT COLOMBO THAN AT PAST NONALIGNED GATHERINGS. IT MAY HAVE APPEARED TO BE "MORE REASONABLE" IN THAT IT EMPHASIZED TO A GREATER DEGREE THE NEED FOR ACTION ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, BUT PERU HAS ALWAYS BEEN VERY CONCERNED WITH ECONOMIC ISSUES, HE REMARKED. PERU HAS EMERGED AS THE "DRIVING FORCE" BEHIND NIEO AND APPEARS LESS INTERESTED IN POLITICAL ISSUES (ADDRESSED BY THE NONALIGNED.)

EGYPT: EGYPTIANS AT COLOMBO HAD "BIG POLITICAL AMBITIONS", HE STATED, THEY SEEMED TO DESIRE "INSTANT NEGOTIATIONS" ON VARIOUS PROBLEMS AND A "REVOLUTION" IN NAM'S INTER-NATIONAL POSTURE. ASKED TO ELABORATE ON THE DESIRED OUTCOME OF SUCH A "REVOLUTION", KOMATINA SAID EGYPT FELT THE NAM HAD GONE THROUGH A PERIOD OF "PASSIVITY" BETWEEN THE ALGIERS AND COLOMBO NACS AND OUGHT TO REASSERT ITSELF IN SOLVING VARIOUS PROBLEMS, SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST. HE COMMENTED THAT SADAT "WANTED TO APPEAR AS A NONALIGNED FORCE... WE WERE VERY SORRY THERE WAS NO PLACE FOR EGYPT IN THE NA COORDINATING COMMITTEE".

INDIA. KOMATINA STATED THAT IN SPITE OF "RESENTMENT" OF INDIA BY ISLAMIC COUNTRIES DUE TO STATE OF ITS RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, INDIA IS STILL THE "MAIN ASIAN
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FORCE" IN NAM. INDIA, HE SAID, "DEEPLY UNDERSTANDS" THE INTRICACIES OF THE MOVEMENT, IS WELL INFORMED AND VERY ABLE.

SRI LANKA. SRI LANKANS "SURPRISED" THE YUGOSLAVS, HE SAID, BY THEIR "IMPRESSIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE" AND BY THE INFLUENCE THEY EXERTED ON PROCEDURAL MANNER IN WHICH CONFERENCE DEALT WITH CERTAIN OF THE MORE TROUBLE-SOME ISSUES. CUBA. KOMATINA INDICATED THAT CUBANS CONTINUE TO BE "A FORCE AND A PRESENCE" IN NAM, DWELLING ALWAYS ON "INDEPENDENCE " ISSUE. AT COLOMBO THEY WANTED TO CASTIGATE CERTAIN COUNTRIES, SUCH AS INDONESIA AND NIGERIA, FOR BEING INSUFFICIENTLY "PROGRESSIVE", BUT "WE TOOK THE CUBANS ASIDE", AND POINTED OUT INDONESIAN POSITION ON MIDDLE EAST AS WELL AS NIGERIA'S EARLY RECOGNITION OF MPLA. "THE CUBANS RECOGNIZED THIS", HE SAID, AND RELENTED.

7. HOW ACTIVE WERE MODERATES AT COLOMBO? ASKED WHICH COUNTRIES HE HAD IN MIND, AMBASSADOR MENTIONED, FOR EXAMPLE, SAUDI ARABIA. KOMATINA COMMENTED THAT SAUDI ARABIA, RELATIVELY QUIET IN THE PAST, "WAS MORE ACTIVE AND OUTSPOKEN" AT COLOMBO. HE CALLED SAUDI ARABIA "VERY ACTIVE IN THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE". THERE WERE FEW, IF ANY, COUNTRIES "SLEEPING" AT COLOMBO, AS HAD BEEN THE CASE AT ALGIERS AND LIMA. HE EMPHASIZED NEED TO STIMULATE THE ONE- OR TWO-ISSUE MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE MORE FULLY IN THE MOVEMENT AND STATED THIS IS THE OBJECTIVE OF CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED.

8. NA COORDINATING COMMITTEE. WITH REGARD TO YUGOSLAVIA'S PROPOSAL THAT COORDINATING COMMITTEE BE CONVENED DURING CERTAIN CRISES, INCLUDING INVASION OF NONALIGNED COUNTRY, KOMATINA STATED "OTHER COUNTRIES" HAD SAID "OK" BUT HAD CAUTIONED THAT CC WOULD RISK "FALLING INTO THE TRAP" OF INTERFERING IN DISPUTES BETWEEN VARIOUS NON-ALIGNED NATIONS. HE SAID HE WISHED TO MAKE TWO POINTS WITH REGARD TO THE CC. (1) THERE IS A RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF MANY OF THE NONALIGNED TO ANY "INSTITUTIONALIZATION" OF THE MOVEMENT, EVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "A SMALL SERVICE UNIT" TO AID GOVERNMENTS HOSTING NAM CONCLAVES. "COUNTRIES" SAID THEY WOULD HELP SRI LANKA IN THEIR OWN WAY, THAT THEY DID NOT WISH TO DEVELOP EVEN CONFIDENTIAL

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"THE EMBRYO OF FUNCTIONALISM" WITHIN NAM; AND (2) THERE IS AN AVERSION WITHIN NAM TO ANY "AUTOMATIS.". TO ILLUSTRATE LATTER, KOMATINA AGAIN REFERRED TO YUGOSLAV

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PROPOSAL FOR CONVENING THE CC IN PERIODS OF CRISIS AND SAID THAT WHILE "INDIA, SRI LANKA AND OTHERS" HAD SUPPORTED THE IDEA, THEY HAD OPPOSED ANY "AUTOMATISM" WHICH COULD BE USED BY CC MEMBERS TO DISADVANTAGE OF NON-MEMBERS. A PROPOSAL WAS PUT FORTH AND GENERALLY ACCEPTED FOR INFORMAL MEETINGS AT SUCH TIMES TO ECMLUATE NEED FOR A CONVENING OF CC. KOMATINA ADDED, "THEY ARE RIGHT ON THIS. WE ARE NOT SOME KIND OF SECURITY COUNCIL. WE WELCOMED THIS (PROPOSAL) AND ACCEPTED IT IMMEDIATELY."

9. AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT FOR A COUNTRY SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA "TIME (IN A PERIOD OF CRISIS) COULD BE OF THE ESSENCE." KOMATINA AGREED BUT SAID THAT AGRESSION AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA WOULD LIKELY CONSTITUTE "A WORLD CRISIS" AND SUPPORT OF NON-ALIGNED WOULD CERTAINLY BE FORTHCOMING.

10 HE STATED THAT NEW CC EVIDENCED GREATER CONTINUITY;
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A DEGREE OF "PERMANENCY", IN THAT IT MEETS MONTHLY IN NEW YORK; GREATER AUTONOMY, IN THAT IT IS NOT DEPENDENT ON THE COORDINATING EFFORTS OF ONE COUNTRY, AS IT WAS TO LARGE EXTENT FOLLOWING ALGIERS NAC; AND A MORE CLEARLY DEFINED MANDATE. A STEP WAS TAKEN TOWARD BETTER COORDINATION WHILE THE TRAP IF INSTITUTIONALIZATION WAS AVOIDED. HE THEN COMMENTED ON "THE PROBLEM OF HOW (NAM) ELECTS NEW (CC) MEMBERS". WE SAW AT COLOMBO "AN UPRISING" AGAINST PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP IN CC. ASKED WHETHER THIS DIDN'T MEAN YUGOSLAVIA AT SOME FUTURE POINT WOULD HAVE TO RELINQUISH ITS SEAT IN THE CC, KOMATINA SAID, "YES, WHY NOT?" HE COMMENTED THAT INDIA HAD PUT FORWARD A PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD LIMIT ANY COUNTRY TO TWO SUCCESSIVE ELECTIONS TO THE CC AND, ON SAME SUBJECT, THAT "FAHMI'S PROPOSAL" FOR A COORDINATING BUREAU COMPRISED OF "THE ELITE" OF THE NON-ALIGNED HAD NOT GAINED ACCEPTANCE. KOMATINA ATTRIBUTED THE FACT THAT ELEVEN MEMBERS OF CC HAD BEEN RE-ELECTED TO THE BODY TO A RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR INCLUDING IN THE COUNTRIES ADEPT AT DIPLOMACY, WILLING TO UNDERTAKE COMMITMENTS AND PRODUCE RESULTS, COUNTRIES WHICH IF ELECTED TO THE CC COULD BE RELIED UPON TO WORK. IN CONTRAST, HE CHARACTERIZED NIGER AND CHAD, FOR INSTANCE, AS PROBABLY UNABLE TO PRODUCE MUCH IN COORDINATING BUREAU BUT AS "VULNERABLE TO MANIPULATION".

11. NAM'S AVERSION TO DEALING WITH "INTERNAL" PROBLEMS. AMBASSADOR ASKED SHY, IF NAM WISHED TO BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN RESOLVING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, IT DID NOT ADDRESS ITSELF TO ITS "INTERNAL" DISPUTES, I.E., OPEN CONFLICTS BETWEEN NAM MEMBERS. KOMATINA RESPONDED THAT THROUGH CONCLUSION OF COLOMBO CONFERENCE THERE HAD BEEN A FEAR OF NA MEMBERS BEING PRESSURED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN, FOR EXAMPLE, MOROCCO AND ALGERIA IN THE SAHARA DISPUTE, INDONESIA AND "OTHER COUNTRIES" OVER TIMOR, AND ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA ON DJIBOUTI. HE ADDED THAT SINCE SUCH DIVISIVE ALIGNMENT "DIDN'T HAPPEN" AT COLOMBO, OWING TO PREPARATORY WORK TO PREVENT IT, NAM "COULD THINK MORE ABOUT" SUCH DISPUTES. HE SAID GOY IS CURRENTLY "LOOKING AT" THIS WHOLE SUBJECT, BUT CAUTIONED THAT CARE MUST BE TAKEN. "WE HAVE THE UN FOR SUCH THINGS. WE DON'T WANT TO BE ACCUSED OF CREATING ANOTHER UN...BUT YOU

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ARE RIGHT," PERHAPS AT NEXT MEETING WE MAY BEGIN TO DEAL WITH THIS.

12. ON ONE "INTERNAL" DISPUTE, NAMELY THE OVER SAHARA, KOMATINA CLAIMED YUGOSLAVS "TOOK ASIDE NIGERIA, SENEGAL AND SOME OTHERS" AND EMPHASIZED TO THEM THE NEED FOR OAU TO BE IN FOREFRONT OF ACTION ON THE (SAHARA) PROBLEM, LEST IT BE OUT-FLANKED BY NAC. THIS, HE SAID, LED TO OAU PROPOSAL OF DISCUSSIONS ON SAHARA.

13. US POLICY TOWARDS NAM. ASKED TO EVALUATE US POLICY TOWARD NAM OVER PAST YEAR, KOMATINA STATED "KISSINGER HAS SAID A LOT OF THINGS ABOUT US", MANY OF THEM NOT POSITIVE. THERE HAS BEEN MENTION OF A "TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY.. BUT ACTIONS ARE MORE IMPORTANT." KISSINGER'S MOVING VORSTER AND SMITH TO A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WOULD COUNT MORE THAN ANY IDEOLOGICAL CATEGORIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT. AT ANOTHER POINT KOMATINA SUGGESTED KISSINGER'S ACTIONS "REFLECT A LEGITIMATION" OF "LIBERATION STRUGGLE" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, "PERHAPS" OWING TO THE EFFORTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED. ON SPECIFIC ISSUES KOMATINA SAID "YOU (US) HAD ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE RESERVATIONS ON KOREA AND ALSO A LARGE NUMBER ON PUERTO RICO." YOU RECEIVED "BETTER TREATMENT" ON PUERTO RICO. LANGUAGE WAS, HE THOUGHT, "LESS OFFENSIVE". AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT WE DID NOT BELIEVE PUERTO RICO WAS DEALT WITH BETTER. KOMATINA SAID HE COULD NOT ADD TO WHAT MINIC HAD TOLD SCRANTON ON PUERTO RICO (BELGRADE 4859). IN GENERAL, HE REMARKED, REGARDING ALL U.S. "TRUSTEE" TERRITORIES, U.S. MUST "COME TO THE UN", BRING THE UN MORE INTO THE PICTURE. "I THINK PUERTO RICO WILL ONE DAY BE FORGOTTEN." IN CONTRAST, HE SAID, KOREA WOULD NOT BE "FORGOTTEN"...

14. KOMATINA CRITICIZED "ALMOST PERMANENT" (DISPARAGING) REMARKS IN U.S. PRESS ABOUT NON-ALIGNED'S BEING MERELY A HETEROGENOUS GROUPING OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WANTING TO TAKE MORE AND MORE FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. AMBASSADOR ASKED WHETHER LATTER WAS NOT A NORMAL REACTION TO ANTI-AMERICANISM EVIDENT IN (COLOMBO) DOCUMENTS. KOMATINA RESPONDED "I SUPPOSE SO", BUT ADDED THERE HAD BEEN A TIME

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WHEN ANTI-AMERICAN ELEMENT WAS LESS IN EVIDENCE AND U.S. HAD EXHIBITED ONLY A PATERNALISTIC ATTITUDE TOWARD NAM. "CRITICISM ON THE ISSUES" IS ONE THING, HE WENT ON, BUT U.S. OUGHT NOT CONSIDER TERMS LIKE "IMPERIALISM" AS HAVING ONLY ONE MEANING (I.E., ANTI-US). HE CLAIMED TO THE TERM "IMPERIALISM" IS ALWAYS ADDED TO PHRASE "IN ALL ITS FORMS" ANTI-IMPERIALISM IN ESSENCE IS "ANTI-BLOC, ANTI-COLONIALIST AND ANTI-UNDERDEVELOPMENT."

15. ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST AT COLOMBO. KOMATINA EMPHASIZED THAT WITH REGARD TO ISRAEL THE QUESTION OF ITS POSSIBLE EXCLUSION FROM THE UN WAS NOT A MAJOR CONSIDERATION AT COLOMBO. HE ATTRIBUTED LATTER BOTH TO DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ARAB WORLD AND TO GENERAL ACCEPTANCE THAT ISRAELI EXCLUSION WOULD NOT LEAD TO AN IMPROVED ME SITUATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE STRESSED, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF IVORY COAST, "NOBODY HAD ANY OBJECTIONS TO PUT(ING) ZIONISM BESIDE RACISM", NOT BECAUSE (ZIONISM/ RACISM LINKAGE) "IS A GOOD THING", BUT BECAUSE OF ACTIONS SUCH AS VORTER'S TRIP TO ISRAEL. THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA REACTED STRONGLY TO THIS, HE STATED. NONE OF THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES "WOULD TOUCH IT" (I.E., ZIONISM/ RACISM), IN SPITE OF OUR (YUGOSLAVIA'S) EXPRESSED WILL- INGNESS TO "BE SECOND" (IN OPPOSING REAFFIRMATION OF ZIONISM IS RACISM). HE COMPARED NAC'S TREATMENT OF "ZIONISM IS RACISM" WITH ITS CALL FOR EMBARGO ON FRANCE FOR SELLING NUCLEAR REACTORS TO SOUTH AFRICA. NOT ONE OF THE "FRANCOPHONE" COUNTRIES OBJECTED TO "SINGLING OUT FRANCE", HE SAID. THESE COUNTRIES STATED "IN CORRIDOR

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CONVERSATIONS" THAT "FRANCE HAD HUMILIATED THEM", THAT THEY HAD BEEN TOTALLY UNAWARE OF FRANCE'S ACTIONS, THAT EVEN GISCARD HAD VISITED CERTAIN OF THEIR COUNTRIES AND TOLD THEM NOTHING.

17. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT NON-ALIGNED WERE SOMEWHAT "ON THE DEFENSIVE" ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUE AT COLOMBO, OWING LARGELY TO ARAB DISUNITY, HE CLAIMED THEY HAD STRENGTHENED THEIR POSITION IN TWO IMPORTANT RESPECTS: (1) NAC "ACTED AGAINST SUSPENDING ISRAEL FROM THE UN" AND (2) AFFIRMED "THE LEGITIMACY OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL ENTITY". AT ANOTHER POINT HE NOTED NON-ALIGNED HAD EMERGED FROM COLOMBO BETTER ABLE TO TAKE ACTION IN CERTAIN AREAS, "PERHPAS SOON IN THE MIDDLE EAST." WE MAY PREVENT SOME COUNTRIES FROM TAKING "DESPERATE ACTIONS" THERE AND WE MIGHT ACT TO PREVENT THE SITUATION FROM FURTHER WORSENING, HE STATED.

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18. REVIVAL OF "TRI-CONTINENTALISM"? ASKED TO APPRAISE CURRENT EFFORTS TO REVIVE "TRI-CONTINENTALISM", KOMATINA REMARKED THAT THE TERM IS NOT MENTIONED IN COLOMBO DOCUMENTS, THAT ALTHOUGH THE NON-ALIGNED DO SPEAK OF VARIOUS REGIONAL GROUPS, LATTER ARE NOT ADDRESSED SEPARATELY BUT WITH THE PHRASE "AND OTHERS". TRI-CONTINENTALISM WAS "DEAR TO CHINA" AND IS NOW SO TO BHUTTO. HE ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT MOST COUNTRIES DO NOT WANT A GROUPING PARALLEL TO THE NON-ALIGNED, WITH "PARALLEL SUMMITS", ETC. A TRI-CONTINENTAL SUMMIT WILL "NEVER" TAKE PLACE, HE CLAIMED. "HOW CAN ONE IMAGINE THAT COUNTRIES LIKE INDIA AND OTHERS WOULD PUS NON-ALIGNMENT ASIDE."
SILBERMAN

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